

Message Text

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3663

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 9181

NODIS

CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM REINHARDT

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR RH UK

SUBJ: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: NOVEMBER 17 MEETINGS WITH
MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND MUGABE

1. I CALLED ON MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND MUGABE THIS
AFTERNOON.

2. IN MY MEETING WITH MUZOREWA, WHO WAS ON THE VERGE
OF LEAVING FOR HIS FIRST DISCUSSION WITH RICHARD ON
THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, I COVERED MY INSTRUCTED POINTS
AND CONGRATULATED THE BISHOP FOR HAVING TAKEN SUCH
A STRONG POSITION THAT THE CONFERENCE MUST NOW DISCUSS
THE FORMATION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

3. THE BISHOP HANDED ME A COPY OF THE PROPOSAL HE
WOULD SUBMIT TO RICHARD (GENEVA 9171). HE DEFENDED
HIS PROPOSAL THAT ELECTIONS MUST BE HELD TO SELECT
THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT ON THE GROUNDS THAT ONLY IN
THIS FASHION COULD LEGITIMACY BE ESTABLISHED. BY
HAVING ELECTIONS, POWER WOULD PASS LEGALLY FROM THE
PRESENT ILLEGAL REGIME TO THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.
THE QUEEN'S APPOINTED REPRESENTATIVE, A GOVERNOR
GENERAL, WOULD FORMALLY APPOINT A FIRST PRIME MINISTER.

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BEYOND THIS FUNCTION, THE BISHOP HAD NO FURTHER COMMENTS

ON WHAT ROLE BRITAIN COULD PLAY DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

4. WITH RESPECT TO THE QUESTION OF SECURITY FORCES, MUZOREWA SAID THAT IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO TRUST THE PRESENT REGIME'S SECURITY FORCES. A NEW SECURITY FORCE WOULD HAVE TO BE ORGANIZED. IT WOULD INCLUDE FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND THOSE FROM RHODESIA'S ARMED FORCES WHO WERE WILLING TO WORK FOR ZIMBABWE.

5. I ASKED THE BISHOP HOW HE THOUGHT THE BRITISH COULD GET THE PATRIOTIC FRONT OVER THE INDEPENDENCE DATE HURDLE. MUZOREWA ADMITTED THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT WAS GOING ON IN HIS COLLEAGUES' CAMPS AND WAS NOT SURE HOW THE BRITISH WOULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM. EARLY IN THE CONFERENCE, HE HAD SUGGESTED THE BRITISH PREPARE AN AGENDA WHICH WOULD SAY HOW MUCH TIME SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO CONFERENCE ISSUES. RICHARD HAD REJECTED THE PROPOSAL ON BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS BUT THERE MAY BE SOME ADVANTAGE, THE BISHOP SAID, IN RAISING THE IDEA AGAIN. I DID NOT PRESS HIM.

6. I TOLD MUZOREWA THAT WE HOPED PROGRESS WOULD BE RAPID AND REMINDED HIM IF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE FAILS, WE DID NOT SEE HOW ANY OF THE LEADERS PRESENT WOULD BE ABLE TO EXERT THE SAME DEGREE OF INFLUENCE IN THE FUTURE. THE US WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO BE HELPFUL AND THE BEST OPPORTUNITY IN HISTORY TO AVOID VIOLENCE AND PIN SMITH TO A SETTLEMENT WOULD BE LOST. MUZOREWA INDICATED THAT HE AGREED WITH ME.

7. SITHOLE RECEIVED ME IN HIS HOTEL AND HE OPENED THE MEETING WITH A DISCUSSION OF HIS REASONS FOR MOVING BEYOND THE PROBLEM OF THE INDEPENDENCE DATE TO THE ISSUE OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. HE HAD SUGGESTED TO THE BRITISH THAT THE CONFERENCE DISCUSS THE STRUCTURE AND THEN THE FUNCTIONS OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND AFTER THESE DISCUSSIONS WERE COMPLETED, TALK ABOUT WHO SHOULD OCCUPY TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT POSITIONS. SITHOLE ADMITS THAT WHITE RHODESIANS MUST PLAY AN

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IMPORTANT ROLE DURING TRANSITION ON CONDITION THAT AFRICANS ARE IN A CLEAR MAJORITY; THAT THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT LAST NO MORE THAN 12 MONTHS; AND THE GOVERNMENT BE A REGIME OF NATIONAL UNITY WHICH WOULD INCLUDE ZANU, ANC, ZAPU AND THE RHODESIAN FRONT.

8. SITHOLE ARGUED THAT THE BRITISH SHOULD ASSUME IMPORTANT, ALBEIT UNSPECIFIED RESPONSIBILITIES,

DURING TRANSITION. HE THOUGHT THAT THE BRITISH COULD PLAY SOME ROLE IN ORGANIZING THE SECURITY FORCES WHICH MUST BE INTEGRATED DURING THE LIFE OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. LIKE MUZOREWA, HE EXPRESSED GREAT SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE POTENTIAL LOYALTY OF THE SMITH REGIME'S MILITARY AND POLICE UNITS.

9. AS WITH MUZOREWA, I POINTED OUT THE RISKS INHERENT IN FAILURE IN GENEVA. SITHOLE AGREED AND SAID THAT YOU HAD MADE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION IN ORGANIZING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. "NEVER BEFORE ON A FOOTING OF EQUALITY HAD REPRESENTATIVES OF ZIMBABWE MET WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND SMITH." HOWEVER, HE FELT THAT THE TWO TIERED GOVERNMENT WHICH SMITH PROPOSED IN HIS SEPT 24 SPEECH WOULD NOT WORK BECAUSE PARITY WITHIN THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND DIVIDED AUTHORITY BETWEEN THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WOULD LEAD TO DEADLOCKS AND DELAY THE REALIZATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE.

10. FLANKED BY MUDZI AND ZANU'S AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE, TAPSON MAWERE, ROBERT MUGABE RECEIVED ME AT HIS HOTEL. THE MEETING LASTED FOR ALMOST ONE HOUR. MUGABE WAS STUBBORN, ARGUMENTATIVE AND OCCASIONALLY UNPLEASANT.

11. MUGABE OPENED THE SESSION WITH A LONG, RAMBLING ACCOUNT OF BRITISH FAILURES AND PERFIDY. GOING BACK OVER EVERY DEBATE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAD HAD WITH THE BRITISH SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFERENCE, MUGABE IN EXCRUCIATING DETAIL SPELLED OUT HIS HARD-LINE POSITION. HE ATTACKED RICHARD FOR HIS HANDLING OF THE CONFERENCE.

12. REFERRING TO THE RHODESIANS THROUGHOUT IN HARSH SECRET

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AND UNCOMPROMISING TERMS, MUGABE DESCRIBED HIS SUSPICIONS OF SMITH'S INTENTIONS AND PARTICULARLY HIS BELIEF THAT THE RHODESIAN MILITARY WILL SEEK TO UPSET TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. SECURITY FORCES MUST BE IN AFRICAN HANDS AND RHODESIAN FORCES MUST BE DIS-SOLVED. BRITAIN WOULD HAVE NO MILITARY OR POLICE RESPONSIBILITIES. SMPLY GIVING AFRICANS POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WAS "NOT ENOUGH." POLITICAL AND MILITARY AUTHORITY MUST PROCEED ON PARALLEL COURSES." REMINDING ME THAT HE HAD REJECTED THE "KISSINGER PACKAGE" AND CONTINUES TO DO SO, MUGABE SAID THAT HE STILL RESENTED THE FACT THAT NO ONE HAD MADE ANY ATTEMPT TO CONSULT HIM DURING THE DEVELOPMENT OF YOUR RHODESIAN INITIATIVE. WHILE HE UNDERSTOOD YOUR PRESSING SCHEDULE IN SEPTEMBER,

MUGABE BELIEVED THAT ROWLANDS AND SCHAUFLE COULD HAVE SEEN HIM IN MAPUTO. AT THE END OF THE MEETING, MUGABE ALLOWED HIS SUBORDINATES TO DREDGE UP OTHER DIFFICULTIES WITH THE US.

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TO SECSTATE WAHHDC IMMEDIATE 3664

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 9181

NODIS

CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM REINHARDT

MAWERE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD FROM SENATOR CLARK YOU HAD NEVER HEARD OF MUGABE WHEN YOU AND CLARK MET EARLIER THIS SUMMER AND FOR THAT REASON YOU WOULD NOT SEE MUGABE. MAWERE ALSO SAID THAT SCHOLARSHIPS WERE BEING DENIED ZANU STUDENTS. MUGABE ALLOWED THAT THE US "DISCRIMINATED AGAINST ZANU." I BLUNTLY ANSWERED THE MORE FARFETCHED CHARGES AND MUGABE DID NOT PURSUE THEM.

13. WITH RESPECT TO THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE, MUGABE SAID THAT THE BALL WAS IN THE BRITISH COURT AND RICHARD HAD TO RESPOND TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S STATEMENT. WHILE HE DID NOT SPECIFICALLY RULE OUT DISCUSSING THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT BEFORE THE INDEPENDENCE ISSUE IS RESOLVED, HE GAVE EVERY INDICATION HAD HAD NO INTENTION OF DOING SO. RICHARD, HE ARGUED, WAS TRYING TO DIVIDE AND RULE AND THEREBY SET UP A "PUPPET REGIME" IN ZIMBABWE. IT WAS NOW UP TO THE BRITISH TO NEGOTIATE AN ACCEPTABLE DATE FOR THE END OF THE CONFERENCE AS WELL AS ACCEPT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S POSITION ON THE

PERIOD OF TRANSITION. AT PRESENT, THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, HE GUESSED, COULD CONTINUE AT LEAST THROUGH THE END OF DECEMBER.

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14. I TOLD MUGABE THAT HE PAINTED A GLOOMY PICTURE. HIS PRESCRIPTION FOR PROGRESS, HE REPLIED, WAS AMERICAN PRESSURE ON THE BRITISH. I SAID TO HIM THAT THE NATURE OF ANY NEGOTIATION IS COMPROMISE AND ASKED HOW MUCH ROOM THERE WAS FOR COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE POSITIONS HE WAS ADVANCING AND THOSE OF THE OTHER PARTIES AT THE CONFERENCE. MUGABE LAUGHED AND INDICATED THAT HE DID NOT THINK THERE WAS MUCH.

15. COMMENT: MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE GAVE EVERY SIGN THEY ARE READY TO MOVE AHEAD AND NEGOTIATE AN ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL INCLUDE RHODESIAN WHITES. I FOUND THE MEETING WITH MUGABE MOST DISAPPOINTING AND WAS STRUCK BY HIS STERN INTRANSIGENCE. HIS COMPORTMENT WAS MUCH TOUGHER THAN HAD BEEN THE CASE IN HIS MEETINGS WITH SCHAUFLELE AND WISNER. RICHARD'S TERM "WILD MEN" SEEMED TODAY TO FIT COMRADE MUGABE AND HIS GROUP WELL. ABRAMS

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